

## Message Text

SECRET

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41

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

----- 046914

O 111657Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1752

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 05926

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, WB, GW, US, UK, FR, UR

SUBJECT: ALLIED REPLY TO USSR ON BUNDESTAG PRESIDUM  
MEETING IN BERLIN

REF: STATE 69538

1. WHEN US REP INFORMED OTHER BONN GROUP REPS OF DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS IN REFTEL, OTHERS SAID THEY SAW NO POINT IN FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT OF THE PRESIDUM MEETING AT THIS JUNCTURE. ALL EXPRESSED DISMAY AT SEEMING IMPASSE WE HAVE REACHED IN BONN GROUP. AS A RESULT, BONN GROUP MEETING SCHEDULED APRIL 10 TO DISCUSS MATTER WAS CANCELLED. FRG FONOFF AND FRENCH EMBASSY SUBSEQUENTLY EXPRESSED TO US SEPARATELY THEIR IRRITATION OVER THE INABILITY OF THE US AND UK SIDES TO REACH A COMPROMISE FORMULATION ON AN ALLIED REPLY TO THE USSR ON THE BUNDESTAG PRESIDUM MEETING IN BERLIN. FRG CHANCELLERY IS PARTICULARLY EXERCIZED OVER ALLIED DILATORINESS IN RESPONDING TO SOVIETS, NOTING THAT ORIGINAL USSR STATEMENT WAS MADE OVER THREE MONTHS AGO. (COMMENT. ADMONITION IN REFTEL AGAINST EMBASSY'S READINESS TO ACCEPT A POSITION "FOR THE SAKE OF SPEEDY COMPROMISE" IS PRESUMABLY TONGUE IN CHEEK, GIVEN THE PASSAGE OF SO MUCH TIME. END COMMENT.)

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2. FOLLOWING URGING FROM US REP, UK AND FRENCH REPS

AGREED RELUCTANTLY TO RESUME DISCUSSION APRIL 11 TO SEE  
IF SOME COMPROMISE TEXT COULD BE WORKED OUT THAT WOULD  
LEAVE US AND UK POSITIONS INTACT YET STILL PERMIT THE  
ALLIES TO ANSWER THE SOVIETS. THE FOLLOWING TEXT IS  
THE RESULT OF EXTENDED NEGOTIATION AND SEEMS TO US TO  
GO A GOOD WAY TOWARD MEETING OUR POSITION. BEGIN TEXT:  
THE BRITISH/FRENCH/US AUTHORITIES DO NOT ACCEPT, INTER  
ALIA, THE IMPLICATION IN YOUR STATEMENT THAT BECAUSE  
MEETINGS OF THE PRESIDUM AND COUNCIL OF ELDERS IN THE  
WSB ARE NOT SPECIFICALLY PROVIDED FOR IN THE QA OF  
SEPTEMBER 3, 1971, THESE BODIES ARE CONSEQUENTLY PRE-  
CLUDED FROM HOLDING MEETINGS THERE. THE THREE POWERS  
ARE CONSCIOUS OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITY TO ENSURE THAT  
NO ACTS OCCUR IN THE WSB WHICH WOULD BE INCOMPATIBLE  
WITH THE QA OF SEPTEMBER 3, 1971. IN THIS CONNECTION  
THEY WOULD DRAW ATTENTION TO THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE  
GOVERNMENTS OF THE THREE POWERS IN ANNEX II TO THE QA  
AND TO THE CLARIFICATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS CONTAINED  
IN THE ASSOCIATED LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 3, 1971  
FROM THE AMBASSADORS OF THE THREE POWERS TO THE  
CHANCELLOR OF THE FRG WHICH HAD BEEN OFFICIALLY COM-  
MUNICATED TO THE AMBASSADOR OF THE SOVIET UNION PRIOR  
TO SIGNATURE OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT. END TEXT.

3. THIS NEW DRAFT, WHICH IS ONE WE BELIEVE THE FRG  
WILL ACCEPT, PROTECTS THE US POSITION IN ALL IMPORTANT  
ASPECTS, IN OUR VIEW: (A) THERE IS NO IMPRESSION LEFT

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O 111657Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1753

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 05926

EXDIS

THAT THE ACTION OF THE THREE ALLIES CAUSED NO MEETINGS TO TAKE PLACE; (B) THERE IS NO DEFINITION OF THE NATURE OF THE PRESIDUM OR COUNCIL OF ELDERS; AND (C) IT REBUTS THE SOVIET CONTENTION THAT WHAT IS NOT SPECIFICALLY PROVIDED FOR IS NOT PERMISSIBLE.

4. SEEN FROM HERE, THE ALLIES DO NEED TO ANSWER THE SOVIETS. NOT TO DO SO WOULD BE TO CONCEDE THE VALIDITY OF THE LATTER'S JANUARY STATEMENT. MOREOVER, WE CANNOT KEEP TELLING RENGEL TO HOLD OFF MEETINGS IN BERLIN BECAUSE THE ALLIES HAVE NOT ANSWERED THE SOVIET STATEMENT. AT SOME POINT, WE WILL HAVE TO MAKE OUR POSITION CLEAR. AND, BASICALLY, IT SEEMS TO US THAT WE WILL PROBABLY END UP TAKING A LINE ANALOGOUS TO THAT WHICH THE GERMANS SUGGESTED THE SECRETARY TAKE ON FEDERAL PRESENCE GENERALLY WITH GROMYKO IN MOSCOW, NAMELY, THAT THE MEETINGS ARE LEGALLY PERMISSIBLE BUT THE ALLIES WOULD JUDGE EACH CASE ON THE BASIS OF ITS POLITICAL OPPORTUNENESS. A FURTHER PERTINENT FACT IS THAT THERE HAVE BEEN EXCHANGES OF VIEWS BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND GROMYKO IN LATE MARCH WHICH PRESERVE OUR LEGAL POSITION ON FEDERAL ACTIVITIES IN BERLIN (AND THE PRESIDUM MEETING WOULD FALL UNDER THAT RUBRIC) YET TAKE SOME ACCOUNT OF SOVIET CONCERNS ABOUT AN EXPANDED PRESENCE.

5. IN CONCLUSION, WE MAY NOTE THAT THIS TRIPARTITE EFFORT PROBABLY REPRESENTS CLOSE TO LAST POSSIBILITY

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OF RESOLVING A MATTER THAT HAS BECOME VEXING IN TERMS OF INTRA-ALLIED RELATIONSHIPS IN THE BONN GROUP. IF WE FAIL TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THIS ISSUE, IT SEEMS TO US THAT WE ARE SIMPLY CREATING DIFFICULTIES WHICH WILL SOON BEGIN TO HAMPER THE EFFECTIVE OPERATION OF THE BONN GROUP.

6. ACTION REQUESTED. DEPARTMENT APPROVAL OF TEXT IN PARA 2 ABOVE.  
HILLENBRAND

SECRET

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRESIDUM, FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, BERLIN QUADRIpartite MATTERS  
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**Type:** TE  
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